/3 cont./

co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/163 cont./

592 836 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 582 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 •611 602 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives, and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/164 cont./

592 602 611 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurſra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurſra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nīshi pīichí – father of pīichí (nī – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pīichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pīichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pīrīkī), wild cat (músī), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hɛrótsī), brownish one (muríachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pīshií – your father; nīshí – his father; sīshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native language. Some of them know how to read and write. They are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture. Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. Many of these castas or social groupings are further subdivided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally. The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her husband. The children inherit property and social affiliations through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

611 In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the
604 injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, under
628 on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error
(604) that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the
case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is
always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblaza man marries an
Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill
an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the
Epieyus, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally
683 cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, but no much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in
[572] pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other emolrios. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a
672 mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury,
683 then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em-
[446] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians
628 object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy com-
689 pensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined
611 by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.